

IDENTITY POLITIC AND WAYANG ORANG MARGINALIZATION AS THE WETU TELU CULTURAL TRADITION IN LOMBOK

By

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ABSTRAK

Pulau Lombok merupakan sebuah wilayah budaya yang bersifat multikultur. Penduduk Lombok terdiri dari berbagai etnis dan agama, memberikan peluang besar terjadinya pergulatan identitas. Pergulatan identitas merupakan gerakan politik untuk menunjukkan perbedaan antara yang satu dengan yang lainnya. Politik perbedaan adalah politik identitas yang berkembang di antara sesama pemeluk agama Islam, ada yang mempertahankan tradisi *Wetu Telu* dan ada yang menolak tradisi *Wetu Telu*. Ketika kerajaan Karangasem berkuasa di Lombok, *ajaran Wetu Telu* diperkaya dengan berbagai kreativitas seni. Salah satu di antaranya adalah Wayang Orang, dengan sumber cerita Serat Menak. Wayang Orang merupakan media untuk mengimplementasikan politik identitas di Lombok. Guncangan politik nasional, dengan adanya Gerakan 30 September tahun 1965, pendukung *ajaran Wetu Telu*, dianggap *kafir* bahkan cenderung dianggap berafiliasi pada *komunisme*, sehingga banyak dibunuh. Pada tahun 1968 terjadinya konsolidasi Islam, yang hasilnya tidak ada lagi istilah *Islam Waktu Telu*, tetapi semua Islam adalah *Waktu Lima*, sehingga *Wayang Orang* dimarginalkan sebagai tradisi budaya *Wetu Telu*. Permasalahan pokok yang dikaji dalam tulisan ini adalah masyarakat Lombok yang multikultural merupakan arena politik identitas yang menyebabkan *Wayang Orang* dimarginalkan. Ada hegemoni kekuasaan yang perlu dikaji melalui dekonstruksi teks lak, dan ditawarkan konsep multikultural oleh pertunjukan *Wayang Orang*. Seni Pertunjukan *Wayang Orang* diyakini oleh penganut *ideologi kultural* mengandung prinsip-prinsip *kultural* yang dapat menyatukan ajaran agama Islam dengan warisan budaya *Wetu Telu*.

ABSTRACT

Lombok, is a cultural region that is multicultural. Lombok population is composed of various ethnicities and religions, providing ample opportunity for identity struggle. The struggle for identity is a political movement to show the contrast between one another. Political differences are developing identity politics among adherents of Islam, some of them are maintaining the tradition of *WetuTelu* and others are refusing tradition *WetuTelu*. When the Karangasemkingdom ruled in Lombok, *ajaranWetuTelu*was enriched with a variety of artistic creativities. One of them was*WayangOrang*, which was taken from *SeratMenak* story. *WayangOrang*was a medium to implement the identity politics in Lombok. National political turbulence, *Gerakan30 September* in 1965, supported the*ajaranWetuTelu*,it was considered as *kafir*and even was considered

affiliated to the communism, in fact there were many people killed. . In 1968 the consolidation of Islam occurred, the term was no longer called Islam Waktu Telu, but Islam Waktu Lima, so Wayang Orang was marginalized as Wetu Telu cultural traditions. The main problem in this paper was studied about Lombok multicultural society in identity politic arena that caused Wayang Orang was marginalized. There was a hegemonic power that needs to be studied through the deconstruction shellac, and it offered the concept of multicultural by Wayang Orang performances. *Wayang Orang* Performing Arts was believed by adherent cultural ideology which contained cultural principles that can unite Islam religion with *Wetu Telu* cultural heritage.

Keywords: *Identity Politic, Marginalization, Wayang Orang, Wetu Telu*

I. INTRODUCTION

Lombok is a cultural region that is geographically located between the island of Bali and Sumbawa Island, demographically; Lombok population consists of various ethnic groups. As a multiethnic cultural area, then in Lombok develops various types and forms of culture for each of the ethnic groups in Lombok tied to their ethnic culture. The logical implication of a multiethnic and multicultural society is the emergence of social phenomena that tend to encourage the struggle of identity. The struggle for identity is a political concept that leads to the principles of distinction, known as identity politics (Abdilah, 2011: 12). There are principles that differ among Sasak Muslim to realize the identity between maintaining Wetu Telu tradition or refuses Wetu Telu Tradition (Interview, October 15, 2016).

The principle difference leads to a struggle between cultural ideology that adhering to the culture and ideology Wetu Telu purify Islam ("syariah") (interview, October 15, 2016). Based on Sasak ethnic which was back grounded by cultural ideology would like to place Wayang Orang as a medium to convey a message about the meaning of Sasak tradition, so it can be pushed into the identity. Wayang Orang as a medium to convey the message of cultural and religious teachings, developed through a process of long history, so it has become a part of daily habit. As a historical legacy Wayang Orang contains a blend of cultural and ethnic religious teachings, in Lombok. The combination of the value

it has established the trust and confidence of people in Sasak called Wetu Telu teachings.

The value protrusion on Wayang Orang performances can be understood as the implementation of the Wetu Telu teachings from Serat Menak story. These values are no longer known by the people of Lombok, because Wayang Orang which stores those values has been marginalized. Many citizens in Mataram, Lombok, include artists there didn't know very well about Wayang Orang. Some Lombok people have been interviewed, such Mustahin Doctoral degree students of Cultural Studies, and Salman Alfarisi, Doctoral students of Cultural Studies as well as a theater artist, Yuspianal and Ayu Mulyasari ISI Denpasar students said, they never heard that in Lombok was performed Wayang Orang. According to them there was a shadow puppet in Lombok called Wayang Menak. The information proved that Wayang Orang was marginalized by social conditions that developed in Lombok.

Wayang Orang source story in Lombok was Serat Menak, a piece of literature that contains Islamic values and Sasak local value. One of the parts was taken to represent the Sasak syncretic identity of Serat Menak was Jayengrana Merariq. The play was selected because it contains religious values, aesthetic values, and traditional values, which need to be regenerated and preserved as local wisdom (Faturrahman, 2009: 6). Regeneration can be interpreted as an effort to maintain Wayang Orang because it implements Islamic teachings and local values of Sasak, which has integrative feature.

The main problem which was studied in this writing connected to the identity struggle as the ideology struggling arena which encouraged the occurrence of Wayang Orang has been marginalized as Wetu Telu cultural tradition. The concept of adatluwirgama is the multicultural concept which can be used to face cultural hegemony that is conducted by majority group. Based on that concept, then deconstruction theory, multicultural, and hegemony were become reference in analyzing that problem. Deconstruction theory encouraged to the reconstruction of text. Multicultural text took various forms and meanings from any culture which were different in one to another area to be understood together

(Ritzer, 2004:106). Hegemony theory convinced there was a power to marginalize the Wayang Orang as WetuTelu cultural tradition.

II. Wayang Orang as the WetuTelu Tradition

Since the term Islam WetuTelu had been removed in 1968, then WetuTelu tradition got less attention from the society and inclined to be marginalized. One of them which very close to WetuTelu tradition was Wayang Orang performing art. The vanished of Islam WetuTelu, it did not mean the willing to keep maintaining WetuTelu tradition gone, because there were still many Islam Sasak ethnic would like to maintain the WetuTelu tradition as Sasak identity. The tendency to keep maintaining WetuTelu tradition was as globalization effect when regional autonomy was held in giving the opportunity to the region to manage the area which implicate to the local identity development.

The term of WetuTelu Tradition was the interpretation of the conviction of three "petangan". Three "petangan" were merged into a single teaching, called the WetuTelu (Parimatha, 1987: 7). The concept of "petangan" in WetuTelu teachings, it can be assumed as a stream of belief. Based on the assumption that the term WetuTelu is the teaching contains three beliefs namely, "petanganJawa" (belief in the Majapahit Hindu religion and culture), "petanganKudus" (belief in the local trust Sasak) and "PetanganArab" (belief in the teachings of Islam).

Performances of WayangOrang with SeratMenak story, describes the combination of WetuTelu teaching, with *ajaranIslam* which can be understood through the role and characters. The combination of WetuTelu teachings with the teachings of Islam, depicted in the show of WayangOrang to encourage people to be able to understand the identity of locally owned. The reality of the blend was touted by the term *adatlwirgama*, which means it is customary to support religion and religious customs must protect (interview, 15 October, 2016).

WayangOrang which can formulate *adatlwirgama* as Sasak local wisdom, since the term of IslamWetuTelu abolished, received less attention from Sasak society. That situation has put the Balinese arts getting more attention in ceremonial activities associated with Hindu religious ceremonies and rituals of

Bali in Lombok WetuTelu traditions, such as perangtopat ritual in PuraLingsar. Therefore, various types of Balinese arts flourished in Lombok, especially in Mataram, among others: JogedBumbung Dance, Pendet, Candrametu, PanjiSemirang, Margapati, Wiranata, KebyarDuduk, OlegTemulilingan, LegongKraton, Tenun, Nelayan, Trunajaya, Sendratari, Mask, Arja, Rejang, Sanghyang, and others.

Bali's arts development has triggered people to generate Lombok people to maintain the Sasak arts, one of them was Wayang Orang as identity. Wayang Orang in Lombok could be assumed to be an art that was influenced by WayangWong Bali, but claimed as WayangOrangSasak, because the source of the story was SeratMenak. It is understood that only WayangSasak show just called with WayangMenak. According Anggawa, "Menak" equals "Manik" which means "essence," that is the core teachings of Islam. Wong Menak are people who understand the core teachings of Islam. In contrast with the title "Menak" in Bali, this means the nobility.

WayangOrang, including performing arts class drama and dance (Monografy, West Nusa Tenggara, Volume II, 1977: 137), is one of the traditions that are not justified by firqoh of Islam to be staged during the celebration of the Islamic religion. That view was developed based on the realization that the traditional performing arts heritage Sasak is attached with WetuTelu tradition, and the breath of Hindu culture. It showed the presence of local sentiment and ethnic conflict in Lombok the stronger the source's identity struggle.

The struggle of the true identity was begun since GAJAHMADA sent troops to conquer Selepawis or Selesuwung (means = Lombok) in 1344. Through conquest that had an embedded Majapahit culture that was sinkeritisme between Hinduism and Buddhism (Bunyamin, 2011: 5). Selepawis or Selesuwung which were then known as Seleparang means Lombok, it was used Kawi language by the author based on the ancient Javanese language. According to Anggawa, Kawi language is different from ancient Javanese because Kawi language is the language of communication between regions in the archipelago that is the language of a mixture of Java, Bali and Sasak, while the Javanese ancient

language was used by the Java community, the golden age of Javanese Hindu kingdom (Interview, 12 November 2013).

The arrival of Islam to Lombok around the sixteenth century brought by SunanGiri and PangeranSangupati been spreading Islamic values. In addition, the inclusion of the Dutch trading business is VerenigdeOostIndischeCompagnie (VOC) to the east, namely to Napier in 1633 led to a war between the VOC and the kingdom of Goa in Napier. Napier supremacy pullback in Lombok cause kingdom Seleparang admit VOC under an agreement signed in 1675 in BentengRitterdamMakasar (Bunjamin, 2011: 9). VOC reign in Lombok, causing political and economic situation becomes chaotic, as Napier and VOC remain hostile to trade mastered in Lombok. The situation was used by King Karangasem Bali to Lombok in 1677.

The attack from the king of Karangasem Bali in 1677 and 1678 could be driven by the kingdom of Seleparang, so the king of Karangasem could not manage to control the Lombok at the time (Bunjamin, 201: 9). Psychological pressure and local sentiment began feeding the Sasak people who lead them continuously resisted the power of the king of Karangasem Bali.

The resistance that then leads to a prolonged conflict until now. The historical process that has been handed down as Sasak culture that is sinkeritisme between the indigenous culture before the influence of Majapahit and Islamic values are entered in the XVI century. This historical legacy that was known as the cultural WetuTelu. When adherents of the Muslim Sasak culture forward the draft WetuTelu, then they were called IslamWetuTelu.

III. Wayang Orang as Identity Politic

Reality diversity of ethnic, cultural and religious was present in Lombok with an assortment of characters, functions, different physiology. In practical terms the condition of the presence of ethnic and cultural diversity would bring acceptance, proclamation even a denial or rejection (Abdilah S, 2002: 22). In this rejection condition often appears awareness of identity both collectively and individually. The emergence of an identity as a form of difference against the

other was often leading to struggles motivated by the interests of a particular ideology.

Identity struggle in Lombok, produced by the difference in interest between cultural ideology with ideology purify Islam (shari'a) has encouraged WayangOrang to be marginalized. Cultural production through reviving the concept WayangOrang, will be able to present the symbol, image, and message to be understood by the people of Lombok as identity (Ida, 2014: 5). WayangOrang through performances, traditional values excavated and constructed in the form of symbols and images into Sasak identity that can be distinguished from the others.

The concept of identity is an essence that is interpreted by signs, tastes, attitudes, and lifestyles (Purwadarminata, 1979: 369). Identity may be personal to the group, which essentially refers to the differences, both personal and social (Burke, 2011: 143). Identity politics is a politics of difference that was originally raised by differences in body or referred to biopolitic (Abdilah, 2002: 16). The concept of identity struggle is a struggle to realize the concept of identity in order to mutually acceptable Sasak.

According to Rusmadi, the use of the word Wayang Orang, called the Wayang Wong in Lombok as what people said are more familiar with the people of Lombok in general and will be mutually acceptable. The term of the word Wong was less common because the word was from ancient Javanese language (Interview, 12 November 2013). It was also said, that the word *wong* mastermind known only in layers and traditional leaders who have the culture of tolerance that develops Java and Bali in Lombok. The use of the word in Wayang Orang gave a distinct impression on Sasak. Wong said that because the word in the show WayangWong in Java and Bali showed the influence impression Javanese (Majapahit). Source of the story of Serat Menak, was also considered to be the influence of Java, but in Lombok SeratMenak developed into a typical Serat Menak Lombok.

Wayang Orang with SeratMenak stories could build religious value, which was imbued with Islamic teachings and WetuTelu traditions. That value will be easily to be understood by the people of Lombok through aesthetic creativity,

because creativity can foster esthetic more effective communication through, jokes, and stories denser packaging. The part of JayengranaMerariq often used as a play on WayangOrang because it contains the meaning of a marriage Sasak (merariq) based on the values of love and the nature of heroism. In this case the theory of deconstruction played a very important to give meaning to Wayang Orang growing in Lombok as an attempt to interpret the traditional Sasak as identity (Haryanto, 2012: 308). Multicultural theory can also be applied in this case to provide an understanding of the importance of building mutual awareness in building a multi-ethnic Sasak identity through the form and meaning of different cultures (Ritzer and Douglas, 2004: 106).

The performance of WayangOrang in Lombok can be understood as a social text demolition in order to create harmony in Lombok society. Demolition of the case, both the texts performance (spoken text) and text stories (written text). To read the text, then the deconstruction theory offered by J Derrida can applied in this study. Text is all real structure, such as economic, historical, socio-institutional, and all possible references (Zehfuss, 2010: 190). Deconstruction theory developed by J.Derrida is a denial of the structural ideas of Sausure, assuming that language exists because of the difference system.

The core difference is the binary opposition, which saw the language appears on the opposition between speech / writing, true / false, form / meaning, soul / body, good / bad, etc. (Norris, 2003: 9). Sausure considered that the former was more superior than the second of the binary opposition, the first was the Logos, the truth of the truth or absolute truth and only the truth (Norris, 2003: 10-11). On the other hand, the second was false representation of the first or inferior (Norris, 2003: 10). The second part was considered as a follow-up, because without the former, the latter never existed so that the first placed as a center, foundation, and superior.

Based on J.Derrida thinking, it was known that WayangOrang was dismantling and meaning of the text of the play WayangOrang, that Islamic Sharia considers itself implement the teachings of Islam purely did not reject the culture WetuTelu, but can receive WetuTelu culture. Figures considered implementing a

pure Islamic teachings, is Jayengrana. Prominent kafir is the Goddess of PrabuNursiwan Muninggaring because children are considered less attention to the teachings of Islam. Marriage (merariq) Jayengrana with DewiMuninggarim is a symbol of the acceptance of the culture WetuTelu. Here can be observed that the application of the theory of deconstruction of the text, both written text and text show, featuring the reversal of meaning communicated through WayangOrang the social realities that exist in Lombok.

As the source of the story was the result of a combination SeratMenak HikayatAmirHamzah and Panji stories. AmirHamzah saga was derived from the Malay saga book Emr Qissai Hamza a Persian literary works (Soekmono, 1981: 97). According to Reid (1992: 270), a tale of Malay literary works that depicted courage Persian hero. On the other hand Panji story was a growing literature on the Majapahit era, portrayed PanjiInuKertapati with Candrakirana. Local wisdom contained in Wayang Orang actually had become the cultural practices in the life of the Sasak people every day and inherited from generation to generation as a code of conduct.

When these changes occurred in scale and very high speed, has led to structural and cultural changes are not in line, so that there were anomie device value (Kuntowijoyo, 1999: 10-11). Anomie occurred because there was a gap between the value of the social structures and cultural values inherited as a tradition. As a reaction to the changes that occur at this time, the Sasak people in Mataram, Lombok struggling to reinvent themselves and identities marginalized by the history and ideology of power. By generating such WayangOrang art can be raised all their full potential to break down environmental situation itself (Turner, 2002: 165).

Cultural issues were closely related to the formation of culture, cultural change, and the clash of cultures (Kuntowijoyo, 1999: 13). Formation of culture can be understood as a symbolic process, namely human activities in giving meaning to refer to the reality of everyday experience covering religion, philosophy, art, science, history, myth, and language (Kuntowijoyo, 1999: 13). Kartodirdjo (1981: 125), said that the relationship between art and culture,

especially the puppet show with a collective life of aesthetic communication that could unite the collective experience of various groups.

Building and developing local WayangOrang as a cultural force in Lombok was one alternative for building identity through WayangOrang Sasak because the values can be offered as an indigenous Sasak. Formation of culture was a symbolic process of human activity to provide meaning, referring to the reality of everyday human experience covering religion, philosophy, art, science, history, myth, and language (Kutowijoyo, 1999: 13).

IV. Wayang Orang Marginalization

The concept of marginalization is a concept of marginalization, of social life developed at this time. Wayang Orang marginalization is closely connected with the meaning and social function. Wayang Orang marginalization means WayangOrang no longer function well socially for the sake of devotion, economically and politically. Marginalization has meaning to create homogeneity oriented culture purification of Islam is universal. WayangOrang marginalization can be proved that, most people have never known WayangOrang Sasak even a few people were surprised when I mentioned doing research WayangOrang in Lombok. From the field observations Wayangorang in three places, namely in Central Lombok, in Semabalon and in DusunBatuPandang East Lombok. In both places above WayangOrang have become extinct even no traces at all which can be used as a pointing that they never had art Wayang Orang. In the village of Sembalon still no inheritance in the form tapel, but players and absolutely nothing.

In Dusun Batu Pandang still no indication that they have WayangOrang art, but the condition was very critical because never again do staging, dancers even been out of the art group looking for a job out of the area. There was a set of gamelan has set in a room that shows the arts were not working anymore. That fact has prompted a movement to rebuild the emerge of WayangOrang that local values stored in WayangOrang can be understood by the people of Lombok.

WayangOrang, an expression of aesthetic and cultural communication media in offering moral values as the code of conduct. As a medium of cultural communication wayang orang can unite the collective experience and social integration in society Mataram, Lombok. Hegemony and authority that was driven by the strength of Islam has provoked resistance from the subordinate social forces to maintain the traditional Sasak culture and arts. WayangOrang as a medium resistance has a great ideology, which returns the identity Sasak through the development of traditional arts and customs Sasak.

Rebuilding WayangOrang can be associated with the reconstruction of the puppet performed in MataramLombok dated November 14, 2009. Reconstruction was a stringing activities and reconnecting between the one and the other part that has long dropped out (Encyclopedi, tt: 406). Reconstruction was also an activity to create an event through awareness, planning, and thinking of the things to be realized (Cassirer, 1970: 193). Reconstruction was also a product of subjective thought process of intellectual understanding that can change from time to time (Purwanto, 2006: 3). The reconstruction aimed to revive the Puppet People of the process of marginalization as local identity, Lombok.

It can be realized, that is now a tendency for people to leave tradition. This was associated with the global development leads to universalism and homogenitas interests, which tends to obscure the local values that trigger the emergence of the struggle to establish the identity of (Turner, 2002: 102). WayangOrang was a form of performing art that the characters are played by men. WayangOrang as performance art typical Sasak inherited as part of the culture WetuTelu. As an identity WayangOrang in Lombok can be distinguished from other WayangOrang such as in Bali and Java through the use of a source of stories. WayangOrang in Lombok using SeratMenak as a source of stories. SeratMenak as the source of the story was to combine local culture and the teachings of Islam as an identity. This struggle between Islam who wanted to preserve the cultural identity of the Islamic WetuTelu a culture that refuses WetuTelu as identity has led WayangOrang in Lombok currently experiencing marginalization, even endangered.

V. CONCLUSION

Lombok is a cultural region that consists of a multiethnic and multicultural. As a multicultural region, it is very sensitive to the local identity. There is a tendency to abolish the tradition of local identity of WetuTelu by applying the concept of pure Islamic teachings, assuming that the pure Islamic teachings reject all forms of non-Islamic culture. There was a very strong Islamic ideology rejection of the cultural background WetuTelu as local culture. The condition was caused groups that want to preserve the culture WetuTelu do counter ideology called the cultural ideology. The emergence of this ideology counter cause identity struggle that has implications for the occurrence of a Wayang Orang marginalization as part of the tradition WetuTelu.

Wayang Orang as WetuTelu tradition was an art form in which was reflected the value of a blend of local traditions with religious teachings. A mix of local values and religious teachings were to be built as Sasak identity to be distinguished with the others. WetuTelu blended traditional values with the teachings of Islam developed in the form of social integration concept called *adatluwirgama*.

The combination of local values with religious teachings was reflected in the show WayangOrang source SeratMenak story. In SeratMenak story was described as WongMenak Jayengrana discretion to accept his marriage to DewiMuninggarim as a figure who symbolized very strong to maintain the tradition. Through Wayang Orang show can be listened unification between the teachings of Islam with tradition WetuTelu expected to be *adatluwirgama* as Sasak identity.

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